"FORTUNE'S" GALLOPING CONSUMPTION BY MARTIN SYDELL

THE Nation

July 30, 1955
20c

Geneva Meeting

"A Mortal Blow to the Cold War . . ."

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

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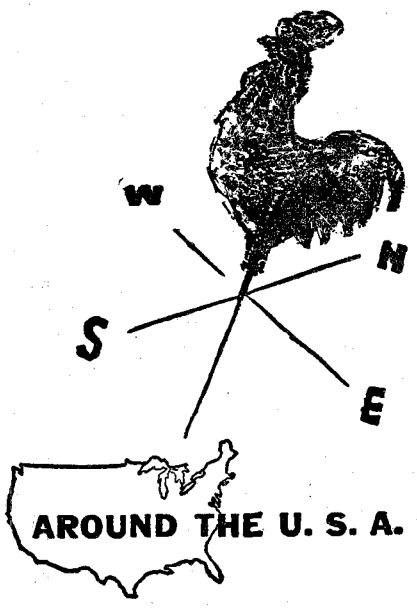

The Cold War and Long Island Suburbia

Albertson, Long Island

IF the old-time aviation greats were to fly over Nassau county's Roosevelt Field, they would never recognize the place. During the past two years the 360 acres of sandy flatlands from which Lindbergh took off on his flight to Paris have been transformed into a defense area. Today only three whitewashed hangers and a few wooden storage buildings still stand as reminders of the field's past glory. Among the features adorning the made-over terrain are the two-story, tan-brick structure of the Arma Division of the American Bosch Arma Corporation, an organization which designs computers for the armed forces, the Reeves Instrument Corporation, similarly engaged, and the Fairchild Engine Corporation's new jet-engine plant. Soon to come is a new Macy's ("the biggest branch of the biggest store in the world").

Roosevelt Field is symptomatic of what has been happening to Nassau. Despite some layoffs of production workers, the county is booming with defense prosperity, with an annual payroll running into the millions and Levitt-type houses springing up all over. Population, estimated by the Long Island Lighting Company at 1,032,460 as of January 1, 1955, has skyrocketed 43.7 percent since 1950. To accommodate these people, some 95,000 new houses have been built in five years. There is much to support the local claim that Nassau is the "fastest-growing county in the United States."

Although it would be too much to say that Nassau has gone proletarian in the past five years, the area has lost much of its snooty exclusiveness. A new society, in fact, is coming into power in Nassau—a society of physicists, engineers, and technicians, sprung from technology and nurtured by the demands of the cold war. These are the people who design, develop, and test the wondrous thinking machines. What brings them to Nassau is the same inducement that brings them to related defense areas: the appeal of high salaries and good working conditions. In the Arma plant, for instance, engineers can go as high as two hundred a week under merit increases virtually guaranteed by the union contract and senior engineers can go even higher. Instruction-book writers can reach a top of $4.28 an hour. All this is exclusive of company-paid fringe benefits.

Most of the plants have unions and they are reasonably effective. No one except suspected Communists has been fired from Arma since the union's inception in 1951, and they had to be taken back when an arbitrator ruled in the union's favor. Except for a ten-week strike at Arma in the summer of 1953, labor relations in Nassau's defense plants have tended to be stable, if not exactly amiable and harmonious.

WHAT are they like, these people who dream up new guided missiles and the fire-control systems for intercontinental bombers? Not at all like the science-fiction magazines picture them. They own modest homes and they drive to work in Fords, Chevvies, and occasionally in Oldsmobiles. They read the daily paper but apparently not much else except the scientific journals. They are quick on the trigger, and young for the most part, but they have little time or inclination for philosophy and the arts. Some play golf or tennis; others may belong to a sports-car club. They have TV sets but they don't watch as much as they used to. Their politics is slightly on the Democratic side.

In spite of the good money and pleasant work, however, these scientists and engineers working in defense tend to be ridden by anxieties and frustrations. Although the security hysteria has lessened, there are still periodic "clearances." Unlike bricklayers, bartenders, baseball players, or tycoons, these professionals cannot discuss their work with friends and neighbors because it is "classified"—that is, confidential or secret. If they hold views, they feel they must be cautious about expressing them. I know of one engineer who reads liberal publications regularly but would not dream of having them delivered by mail.

The idealists among them are even worse off. They suffer continuously from a nagging ambivalence with regard to the prospects for world peace. Since the defense business thrives on crisis, their jobs depend on the world's being kept in a constant uproar. Yet engineers know as well as anyone else that crisis may be followed by catastrophe. With one side of their being they passionately long for peace. Subconsciously, they fear that peace means depression.

Yes, booming Nassau has come a long way from Old Walt's Paumanok. In place of the pines and the thrushes we have split levels and supermarkets. Jets crackle overhead all day long. On Saturdays the giant discount house, Korvette, is so jammed you can't find a parking space within a mile of it.

Sales Management magazine estimates Nassau buying power at a figure greater than $8,000 per family.

Nassau is tidy and well kept. Politically, the residents may be classified as enlightened conservatives. They're not New Dealers but then they're not McCarthyites, either. What effect the influx of urban workers will have remains to be seen. Despite what you hear about the Sprague machine, the Republicans rule with a light hand. It's not a bad place to live. For those who are culturally inclined, there are plays and concerts. Not bad, either. Well-known commentators journey from the city to talk about world affairs. Those who would be bored by such proceedings can find a stimulant at the world-famous Belmont race track or at Roosevelt Raceway.

HERBERT M. ORRELL

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The Shape of Things

Forward from Geneva

"Well, we didn't give much away!" Secretary Dulles is reported to have remarked cheerfully at the Washington airport upon his return from Geneva. Foreign Minister Molotov could—and presumably did—say as much when he returned to Moscow. From this point of view the conference can certainly be marked as a howling success; nobody was generous enough to give, and everyone proved too smart to be robbed. Yet both sides did yield something at Geneva which may gain in value with the passage of time. When President Eisenhower said publicly that he believed in the sincerity of Russia's desire for peace, he abandoned a powerful American strongpoint on the cold-war front. Similarly, when the Soviet Premier said he believed in the sincerity of the President's forswearing of aggressive war the Russians retreated from a significant propaganda strongpoint of their own. It is in the field of these vital intangibles that—as Mr. del Vayo phrases it in his article in this issue—Geneva may have dealt the cold war a "mortal blow."

With regard to the tangible issues, a conciliatory spirit showed itself in the quickness with which agreement was reached on procedural matters if not those of substance. This was progress of no mean order. Previous international conferences have spent days and even weeks attempting to fix the order of agenda items; the Big Four, preparing their final directive, resolved their foreign ministers' deadlock on this issue within twenty-four hours.

There still lie ahead long and difficult negotiations before progress can be made on the substances of the issues which divide East and West. It is to be hoped that they will be entered into in a more generous spirit than that displayed at the foreign ministers' level in Geneva. One may also hope that Washington will have learned from the six days at Geneva that its policy of negotiating from strength has gotten precisely nowhere. Russia's "weaknesses" seem to be more apparent in State Department hands-outs than in Russia. No country is weak which has the H-bomb; and when there is no weakness in the opposition, a policy of negotiating from strength becomes a mischievous mechanism for prolonging instead of solving crises.

The world now looks forward to two meetings—that of Adenauer and the Russians in the Kremlin in September, and that of the foreign ministers in Geneva the following month. The outcome of the first will influence powerfully the results of the second. Mr. del Vayo's reference to the "re-emergence" of Rapallo brings up an interesting field for speculation.

In 1922 the defeated Germans and the isolated Russians, dissatisfied with the treatment accorded them at the Genoa International Economic Conference of that year, secretly retired to Rapallo and signed a treaty of mutual friendship which included some interesting economic clauses. Adenauer was already a mature man when that treaty was signed; surely he will be remembering it when he meets with the Russians who again, after another world war, rightly or wrongly feel themselves isolated from countries which were once their allies. But there is this big difference: the Germans who put their names to paper at Rapallo were the representatives of a defeated nation; Adenauer represents a country which, by grace of the West, lost a war but seems well on its way to winning the peace.

The West Unites the East

In the light of a recent article by Michel Gordey in the Parisian daily *France-Soir*, the President's intervention at Geneva in behalf of freedom for the peoples of Eastern Europe must have sounded very curious to many of the peoples involved. For if Gordey is right, Western support of German rearmament has created greater unity among the Soviet-bloc states than at any time since the end of the war. Even the Czechs and the Poles, long at odds, have resolved many of their differences in the face of the new common danger from a rearmed Germany. Polish patriotism, never at low ebb, is presently at full flood in view of the irredentist pressures at work in Bonn for the restoration to Germany of the territory it lost to Poland in 1945. Eight million Poles now live in this area and they have no intention of leaving. Paradoxically, it is Moscow which profits from this resurgent Polish nationalism, for Warsaw is fully aware that Russia alone is capable of protecting the territory from the German "bandits."

"West German rearmament," a non-Communist informant told Gordey, "has dissolved much of the discord which existed within Poland itself and removed many of the points of friction between the various Eastern European states. Above all, it has dealt a severe blow to the anti-Communist opposition in these states, thus reinforcing the position of the Communist regimes. At the same time the popularity of the United States and of the West generally, which supported German rearmament, has fallen to a new low."

What is especially interesting is that, according to Gordey's informant, the Eastern Europeans have no

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more love for the "good" Communist Germans of East Germany than they have for the pro-Western "capitalist" Germans of the Federal Republic. To them the *Wehrmacht* is the *Wehrmacht,* whether it stems from Potsdam or from Bonn.

Not With a Sword

The Commission to Investigate Communism in Massachusetts *(The Nation,* January 8) has included in its most recent report a list of eighty-five persons "concerning whom, the commission . . . has creditable evidence that such individual was or is a member of the Communist Party, a Communist, or a subversive." In each instance elaborate biographical data have been included —personal and educational history, name of spouse if married, maiden name, address, employment history, changes of name, and so on. A suit brought by five distinguished members of the bar, including a former president of the Massachusetts Bar Association and a former Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives failed to produce a test of the constitutionality of the listing since the court declined jurisdiction on the ground that none of the plaintiffs had been listed or expected to be. Now Florence H. Luscomb, long prominent in civic and political affairs in Boston, who is listed, has brought an action in which she contends that the listing is void as a bill of attainder, an unwarranted legislative encroachment on judicial power, and a denial of due process. Miss Luscomb had appeared before the commission but refused to answer questions concerning matters of conscience and opinion, speech, writings, associations, and political views. She did not, however, invoke the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

To the best of our knowledge, no investigating committee has previously attempted to promulgate a list of this kind which is tantamount to a mediaeval judgment of outlawry. Members of the Massachusetts legislature need to be reminded of what two distinguished legal scholars once had to say about the constitution of the commonwealth:

> It is not a device for bullying little children.
> It is not a device for suppressing people who disagree with you. It is not a device for securing the dominance or leadership of any class in the community without effort on its part. It is a device to call the best energies of every citizen to the common service, to secure to each the fair reward of his labors, and to provide the commonwealth with a competent and unselfish command.
> The commonwealth seeks not loyalty with a sword, but peace and liberty. It knows that loyalty will follow wherever peace and liberty are secured.

The Prevalence of WOCS

Secretary Humphrey is on sound ground in pointing out that the government's fast tax write-off program has been "an artificial stimulus of a dangerous type." Since the start of the Korean war, the government has granted accelerated tax amortization for 19,961 new or expanded facilities estimated to cost $30,500,000,000,

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of which nearly $24,400,000,000 in new facilities are now actually in place. Mr. Humphrey, in recent testimony, estimated that the program has resulted in a loss of fiscal revenue to the government of $880,000,000 for the current year. Apologists for the program contend that the expansion of facilities has produced tax revenue which might not otherwise have been obtained. But as Mr. Humphrey replies, these offsets are hypothetical; the fact is that the government has lost enormous revenues by granting "certificates of necessity" for facilities that industry might very well have constructed without the special incentive of accelerated tax amortization. In many cases, moreover, it is highly debatable whether the new facilities were actually needed in terms of defense requirements. The railroads, for example, have been granted enormous tax write-offs to purchase new freight cars yet there has been a net decrease of over 31,000 in freight cars since the Korean war. In many cases, too, WOCS—business men serving in Washington "without compensation," the kind that used to be called dollar-a-year men—have passed on tax write-off applications affecting industries and concerns with which they have been identified. Congress, it will be recalled, has allowed all unpaid officials connected with defense activities to be exempted from the federal statute which prohibits government employees from taking a private salary while working for the government. There are lots of WOCS in Washington: Defense Mobilizer Arthur S. Flemming has about 132 on his staff. The Democrats, with an assist from Senator John J. Williams (R., Delaware), have been taking a look at the prevalence of WOCS in Washington and their relation to the lush tax write-off program; there is material here, no doubt, for a productive investigation.

The activities of Secretary of the Air Force Talbott in hustling new business for the New York industrial engineering firm in which he is a special partner, including notes of introduction written on Air Force stationery, would indicate that the scope of the inquiry should be broadened to include not only the unpaid WOCS but the extent to which the "conflict of interest" statute has been circumvented.

Japan's Trade Barriers

It seems a long time since we looked upon international trade as a source of amity among nations. In recent months this concept has become so remote that the President, at several press conferences, characterized international trade as a *weapon* of foreign policy rather than an avenue of exchange for the benefit of all.

Now Senator George advises: "Japan ought to be allowed and should not be discouraged from reopening her markets in the great trading area of China." He proposes that only military goods should be withheld, a highly academic limitation for Japan today. The occasion for his proposal, the Senator explains, is the United States-Japanese trade agreement lowering our tariffs on Japanese textiles.

Japan, like Britain, is dependent on exports to buy food for its people and raw materials for its industry. It has, not unexpectedly, found difficulties in recovering its prewar markets and level of trade for cotton-textile products. Silk, another important prewar export, has been almost totally displaced by synthetic fabrics. Yet Japan needs more foreign exchange than before because of the loss of its Manchurian and Korean colonies. Its hopes, therefore, rest on expansion of exports of machinery and equipment.

China is Japan's natural and potentially largest market, all the more so now that it is expanding industry so rapidly. But China is even more important to Japan as a source of coal and iron. Today Japan must fall back on coal imports from the United States, at heavy cost.

In the face of these hard economic realities, Washington has dangled the promise of more trade through bringing Japan into the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, a promise involving concessions in the markets of our allies, particularly the British Commonwealth, as well as our own. Establishment by Japan of good trade relations with China is, however, patently necessary if its exports are to be expanded on a sound economic basis. If the Administration in Washington adopts Senator George's advice, we may well be on our way to substituting a realistic for a belligerent foreign policy, which in itself would be no slight contribution to the easing of international tensions.

Mr. Brownell and the U. A. W.

The indictment of the United Automobile Workers for an alleged violation of the federal election law is another example of political reprisal and attempted intimidation on the part of Mr. Brownell's Department of Justice. The department's contention that it is merely engaged in routine law enforcement is not convincing. The action against the U. A. W. is the first shot in a political offensive launched at the instigation of Michigan's G. O. P. Chairman John Fiekins and Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield with an eye, not on the 1954 campaign but on the 1956 election. The U. A. W. is to be punished not for what it did but in anticipation of what it might do again. The indictment does not stand alone. Recently Congressman Alvin M. Bentley, one of Michigan's Republican leaders, singled out for attack a number of individuals who had signed petitions asking Congress to hold hearings on proposed revisions of the McCarran-Walters Act. Among the thirty or so signers was Harold Cranefield, chief counsel for the U. A. W. Like the hard-boiled political operator he is, Mr. Brownell has fired the first salvo of the 1956 campaign in Michigan which will be aimed at restoring the Republicans to power by neutralizing the U. A. W.'s political influence in the state. The indictment will make possible a test of the 1947 law which prohibits contributions from corporations or labor organizations in connection with the

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election of federal officials. Two earlier actions failed to produce a clear-cut test; now the Supreme Court will have a chance to pass on the constitutionality of the law. A Supreme Court decision before the November, 1956, elections might provide a neat upset for Mr. Brownell's political gambit.

GENEVA CONFERENCE

"A Blow to the Cold War" . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva, July 24

THE GENEVA conference benefited from its participants' keen realization that the world is fed up with the cold war and is demanding an end to it. Every one of the Big Four spokesman realized that he could not go home to face his people carrying on his shoulders the responsibility for the failure of this latest attempt at international reconciliation. Here is the real story behind the smiling photographs, the affable tete-a-tetes, the gay dinners which accompanied this momentous occasion and served to create around it an atmosphere of extraordinary cordiality.

The climate for Geneva was prepared effectively by recent authoritative statements on the horrors of atomic war. Einstein's appeal for the outlawing of war, divulged with superb timing by Lord Russell, and the testimony of dozens of other scientists on the H-bomb's limitless potential for destruction and the impossibility of safeguarding against it, could not but have its effect on the men foregathering "at the summit." It needed only the additional reminder that the cold war could not go on forever without degenerating into a shooting one to put the representatives of the Big Four into the mood in which we have seen them here. This was the mood which drew from President Eisenhower during the course of the conference the memorable six words which made headlines all over Europe: "I have had enough of war."

The constructive approach which stamped the conference as different from all others since 1946 was quickly reflected in the tone and method of debate. Instead of emphasizing the points of difference between East and West, there was a deliberate attempt to seek out the points of agreement. Perhaps the one exception was President Eisenhower's raising of the issue of international communism and the sovereignty of the smaller European states—clearly a concession on his part to the right wing of his Congress. The incident created a mild *malaise* even among the President's Western confreres, but it was soon dissipated by the moderation of Bulganin's reply. The Soviet Premier said only that the conference had been convened to discuss interstate relations, not the activities of political parties. The Russian answer may or may not be considered fully responsive; the main thing was that it was deliberately calculated not to prolong the discussion. In earlier conferences there would have been rebuttal and counter-rebuttal *ad nauseum*.

OF course, the prevailing conciliatory spirit could not be expected to accomplish the impossible. Those who are convinced that the change in Russian attitudes is due to internal weaknesses and Moscow's strained relations with its Communist allies must have been surprised by the polite firmness with which Bulganin said "no" to Western insinuations that if Russia would be "reasonable" on Germany all other problems could be satisfactorily handled. But realistic observers recognize that no Russian government —whether Communist, liberal, or Czarist—with a sense of national responsibility could cooperate in the creation of a rearmed militarist Germany backed by the immense economic and financial power of the United States. The fact that the Kremlin agreed to a discussion of Germany, that it seems to be sincerely desirous of coming to some agreement with the West—a desire acknowledged repeatedly here by President Eisenhower, publicly as well as privately—does not mean and never meant that it has resigned itself to German rearmament. The Russians remain determined to use every diplomatic maneuver, not excluding an eventual direct deal with Adenauer, to avoid this eventuality. So the shadow of Rapallo re-emerges.

Not even the guarantee offered by the Eden plan could induce the Russians to accept the Paris agreements. The British scheme takes German unification, rather than the Paris accords, as its point of departure. But Bulganin takes the position that to subscribe to German unity now is to accept that Germany will be rearmed and that a reunited armed Germany will strengthen the military power of the West. In the presence of that fact, no guarantees—not even the personal word of President Eisenhower—could make them change their minds. In Russian eyes to expect them to welcome a new German army is asking too much of their policy of peaceful coexistence.

Eden refused to be discouraged by the impasse on Germany. Immediately he cast about in other directions for avenues to agreement. As in the Geneva conference on Indo-China, he performed skilfully the difficult role of mediator, a role rendered the more difficult by his determination to do nothing that might offend the Americans.

Most observers agreed that the communique which closed the sessions—a communique in the form of a directive for an October meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers—owed much to the British Prime Minister's remarkable talent for conciliation. Thus the question of Eu-

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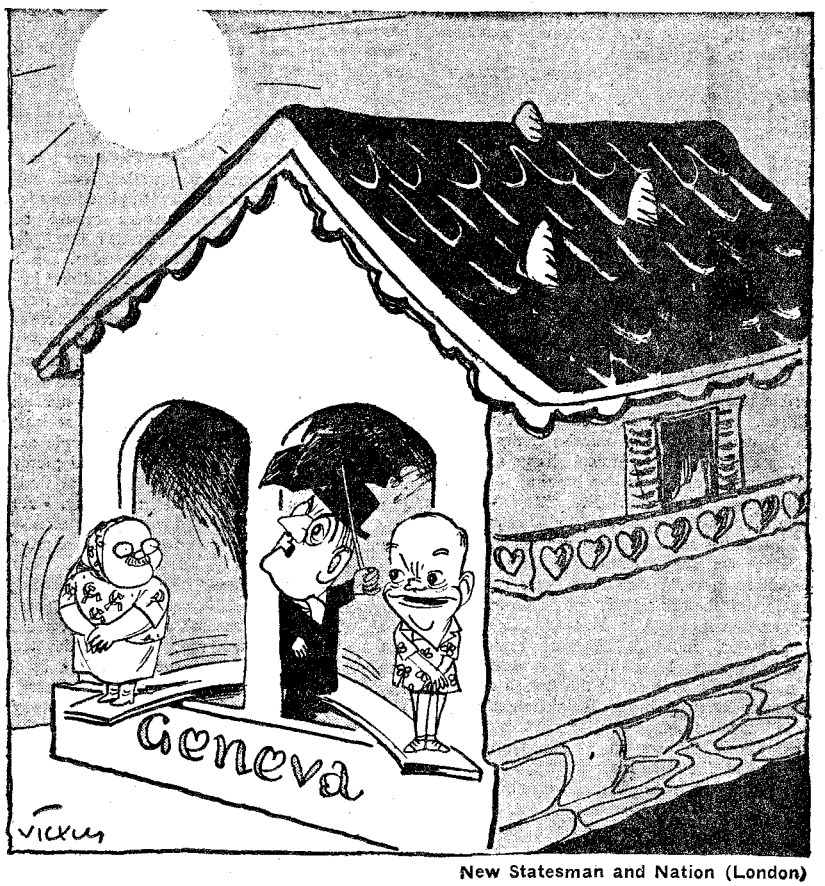
ropean security, to which the Russians wanted to give priority, and the issue of German unification which took first place in the West's demands, are given equal weight in the directive under the general title "European Security and Germany." As if to underscore the compromise, the preamble takes account "of the close link between the unification of Germany and the problem of European security." The directive lists two other items for the foreign ministers to discuss: disarmament and "the development of contacts between East and West."

Prime Minister Eden's role as peacemaker was supported with extraordinary unanimity by his people at home. The morning after the impasse on Germany was revealed, the London *Daily Telegraph* wrote:

> Because no progress on German unification is likely, it is important that the conference should quickly face the facts of the situation. Our best hope seems to lie in working out at Geneva an all-European security agreement involving some sort of all-European community within which the two Germanies would be imbedded. Perhaps by some compromise between the Eden and the Bulganin security plans such a solution might be found.

If the cautious *Daily Telegraph* can speak in such a vein, it seems fairly obvious that the British people will be in no mood to be re-sold on the cold war between now and next October. The British delegates here did not hide the fact that behind their patient pursuit of compromise is the specter of a new economic crisis which could be precipitated by the prolongation of the international armaments race. One got the feeling, talking to British journalists and representatives here, that their compatriots at home will not countenance renewed rationing, nor any rise in an already nearly unbearable tax rate, for the sake of a "crusade against communism."

So it was Eden who, finding the door locked to agreement on Germany for the moment, led the debate into a dispassionate examination of the Bulganin security plan and into the last phase of the conference—the question of disarmament. According to Western experts, the outlook for progress on disarmament is enhanced by the fact that the Russians themselves seemed optimistic. The interesting suggestions



New Statesman and Nation (London)

of French Premier Faure of using money saved by curtailing armaments for a Point 4 plan in behalf of underdeveloped countries, combined with French schemes for the expansion of East-West trade, were scheduled for thorough exploration, at the foreign ministers' meeting. So was President Eisenhower's dramatic if somewhat meaningless offer of an exchange of photographic units with the Soviet Union for the purpose of laying bare to each other the military installations of each. In this connection many persons were quick to point out (A) that the Russians had little to gain from such an exchange since they know much more about the American military setup than Washington does of theirs and (B) that variations of the offer had already been made several times by the Americans at the United Nations during the past several years and were consistently turned down by the Russians.

There are those who seek to exploit the impasse on Germany as proof that Geneva has proved a failure. But the overwhelming feeling here is that progress has been made in bringing Eastern and Western ideas together, that the cold war has received what may yet prove a mortal blow, and that it is now clear to everyone concerned that the Western "policy of strength" is useless unless it is backed by a readiness to use the H-bomb in all-out war. But Eisenhower has said again and again that this is precisely what he does not want to see happen under his Presidency.

In the weeks ahead much more will be said and written about the significance of what has happened here. For the moment most observers are inclined to accept Eden's evaluation, given in the course of his brief closing statement:

> At this conference we did not set out to make a detailed plan in the last few days. For all that, it will be found that in our directive to Foreign Secretaries we have included the essentials of a comprehensive settlement.
>
> The world will have observed the tone and temper in which our work has been conducted. . . . The new spirit of conciliation [which] has been present at our meetings.
>
> But in addition we have had many opportunities for personal contacts which I know we have all found invaluable. . . . If we can continue our work together in the spirit of this meeting, what is hopeful promise today should become solid performance as events unfold.

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REUNION IN BELGRADE

The Yugoslavs Expected It . . *by Marvine Howe*

TO ANYONE visiting Yugoslavia during the past year, it was quite evident that the Soviet Union had not permanently lost favor with the Yugoslav people after 1948, and that a public apology from the Soviet leaders would be graciously accepted. But it was also true that the temporary estrangement between the two Socialist states had permitted the West to consolidate ties of friendship with Yugoslavia. The country today—especially the youth—has dual sympathies. They cannot forget their common Slav bonds with Russia or the fact that the Soviet Union has always stood for the workers' haven. But they also like the products of American civilization and are impressed by the comforts American workers enjoy in a capitalist society.

"There is no question of Yugoslavia withdrawing from the West, nor is there any idea of rapprochement with the Soviet Union. We are only trying to establish a basis for safeguarding peace. We think that the United States will respect our position." A Yugoslav friend—I shall call her Ana—wrote me this after the much publicized Soviet-Yugoslav talks at Belgrade early this summer. "Nothing much has changed at the university here since you were in Zagreb. Of course everyone talks about the declaration, but, as you know, the Soviet move was no surprise to us. We all feel simply that truth has won."

I had met Ana in Yugoslavia in December, 1954. In her early thirties, Ana was a student at Zagreb University. Her education had been interrupted in 1941 when she joined the Partisan resistance. After the war she and other Yugoslav youth had had the job of rebuilding the country. In the period 1946-1953, the voluntary youth brigades built eleven railway lines, six roads, fourteen major industrial projects and five hydraulic power plants. Of late the work battalions have been decreased because of a general stabilization and strengthening of the country's economy. The letup has permitted Ana and other students to go back to school after more than a decade's leave of absence.

Ana wanted to be an interpreter. She knew French, German, and Russian and she was studying English. She admitted to me that in spite of her languages, her chances for a job as interpreter were very slim because she was no longer a member of the Communist Party. She had been expelled as a "deviationist" after the war. Ana's continued loyalty to Tito and Yugoslavia's Communist regime, even after she had been sent away from the party in disgrace, could be compared to the Yugoslav people's continued sympathy for the Soviet Union even after Soviet leaders had covered Yugoslavia with shame in 1948.

LAST winter, the young Yugoslavs were extremely kind to me and my American friends. They readily offered us the hospitality of their homes as well as small gifts to make us remember our visit. Everywhere they told us of their deep interest in the United States and their admiration for the American people. But in the same breath, they would affirm that if ever the United States asked Yugoslavia to go to war against the Soviet Union, their country would refuse. "We cannot hate the Russian people, who are also Slav, because their government made mistakes in 1948," they would declare. "One day they will understand." When I passed through Zagreb in December, there was already talk about a new Soviet attitude towards Yugoslavia in student circles. "It is natural that the youth should react quicker and with more enthusiasm to actual problems," university students declared. "Our fathers are sometimes slow, but we are all going in the same direction."

Soviet youth staged in the summer of 1954 what might have been a dress rehearsal for the Soviet leaders' mission to Belgrade almost a year later. The International Union of Students Organization (I. U. S.), whose policy greatly resembles that of the Soviet government, invited the Yugoslav Union of Students to send its representatives to the I. U. S. Council meeting in Moscow, in August. This had been a surprise.

Before Stalin's death, Yugoslav students had not even been permitted to go to Moscow to take part in the world chess championship tournament. The I. U. S. had been responsible for the decision to exclude Yugoslavia from this organization, and for several years the I. U. S. had sponsored a slanderous campaign against the Yugoslav Student Union.

When I talked with Yugoslav university students at the end of 1954, they showed considerable interest in the "normalization" of relations between their country and the Soviet Union as well as other Eastern countries. As the boys and girls strolled from one brick building to the next (Zagreb University's nine schools are spread out across the city), they would discuss their plans for New Year's celebrations, the operas they had seen that season, the features in the latest editions of *Life* magazine and *Elle*. But conversations usually turned to the news that a Yugoslav economic delegation had just gone to the Soviet Union to talk over a commercial accord with Soviet representatives, and the reports that Yugoslavia would begin trade talks early in 1955 with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria.

After the liberation, the study of the Russian language was extremely popular in Yugoslav schools, but subsequently, English rapidly gained ground, as it did in many

MARVINE HOWE, who is on the staff of Radio Maroc, radio station of the French protectorate of Morocco, visited Yugoslavia recently.

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European countries. This year at the University of Zagreb, there are forty Russian majors, 300 English majors, and 250 French. At Zagreb, the School of Literature has a department devoted to Slav languages and literature. This includes courses in Russian philology, ancient and modern literature. It should be mentioned that there are no Russian professors (or students for that matter); language courses are taught with the use of tape recorders. The philosophy department includes courses in Russian philosophy and the most popular theorist is Lenin. Yugoslav students said that there had been no changes in their Russian courses after the 1948 dispute with the Soviet Union, but that studies of Soviet literature and theory were approached with a "more critical attitude."

WHEN I left Yugoslavia, Ana and I continued to correspond. In her letters, she willingly answered all my questions about Yugoslav student life and opinions, on the condition that I should not reveal her name. When Marshal Tito said last March that the active coexistence of states with different social regimes is the only way to avoid a new world war, "the youth of Yugoslavia is in favor of the government's policy of active coexistence," Ana wrote.

After the Belgrade parley, I wrote her, asking what the university circles believed would be the far-reaching results of the Yugoslav meeting with Moscow officials. Her answer was brief. "We will no longer have gunfire at our borders. That is a great deal." I also asked my "deviationist" friend if her government's policy of active coexistence would be applied on the domestic scene. Would her own position and that of other ex- or non- party members be made any easier? "I am afraid we must still wait for our 'pardon,'" she replied. "You know people always forgive foreigners more easily than members of their own family."

GALLOPING CONSUMPTION

"Fortune's" Way of Life . . . *by Martin Sydell*

AMERICAN business has made a cult of optimism. Its mystique is the superstition of the gambler. Its theology must, of necessity, be oracular and primitive, for its task is to prove that the angels of prosperity can dance forever on the pinhead of a planless, competitive, self-seeking economy.

A book called "The Changing American Market," by the editors of *Fortune* magazine, may well become the contemporary bible of this cult. It is the offspring of the fanciest house organ in the world. If sales managers and public-relations men are the itinerant preachers of the revelation, the editors of *Fortune* are its high priests. When the individual chapters of the book were appearing as articles in *Fortune*, one could take them as typical morale-boosting hoopla for the business man who had, perhaps, been shaken by the recurrent threats of recession. But now, in book form, it reveals the editors garbed as prophets, unveiling the future "at least to the end of this decade in every chapter, and well beyond, into the 1960's and 1970's, in many chapters."

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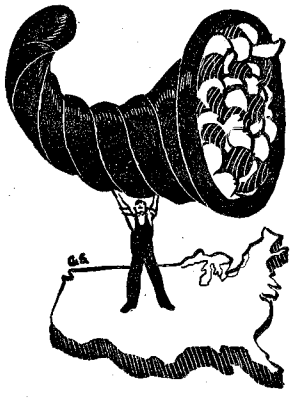
What makes these predictions important is that they are precisely those of the Eisenhower Administration. What makes their assumptions significant is that *Fortune's* "analysis" of the consumer market in the United States today is also that of American business in general and of the Republican Party in particular.

"THIS book," *Fortune's* editors announce, "is the product of a unique venture in business journalism. It represents the most ambitious attempt by any American publication to combine in one inquiry the best standards of journalism and the most rigorous standards of original economic analysis."

What passes for journalism is a breathless, ecstatic *Time-Life* style, in which percentages and assorted figures cavort in a "hail 1959" victory celebration. With enormous assurance the editors project for the years ahead still more cars, houses, appliances, vacations, and clothing—and even more for the decade 1960-1970. To give this orgy of consumption its fitting carnival spirit, they have illustrated the book with rocket-colored bar charts and graphs, as a sort of fireworks in print. Not since 1929 have there been uncorked such fountains of optimism as they spray over their projections for 1955-1959.

Their "original economic analysis" turns out to be a ping-pong game of razzle-dazzle statistics which purport to prove that practically all Americans are now in the luxury-buying, middle-income brackets. As time goes on, all but a few stragglers will make the grade. Well, not all. Of the four million families at the bottom of the economic ladder, the editors say "they are just plain poor, period."

When it suits their purposes, they use the $4,000 to $7,500 income bracket, or the "$7,500 and up," or even the "less than $100,000 a year after taxes." And then again, "the heart and soul of the luxury market, the source of both its growth since



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1929 and its strength today, are the groups with $4,000 to $25,000 after taxes." Two points should be made concerning this particular quotation. First, you are dealing with somewhat different income groups when you take *gross* income brackets at one point and then the same dollar-income figures *after taxes.* Second, throughout the book there is an interesting and revealing blind spot which simply ignores the unpleasant rigors of the thirties.

It is quite true that more people in the United States are living better than at any time in our history, with the exception of the lush years of World War II. We have a larger population, more people employed, lots of babies, more couples marrying younger, more families buying cars, homes, and more of everything than in 1929, and certainly more than in 1935.

But when *Fortune* proclaims the "great redistribution of income" a little arithmetic with their own figures reveals that over 55 per cent of the family units in the United States are living on an income of under $4,000 a year. And that's the lowest figure at which "discretionary spending" can start even for a *Fortune* editor with shocking-pink spectacles.

"THE question is not whether the economy will expand, but how much it will expand," they proclaim, although in three or four places in the book they hedge a little. "And that's the consumer market five years from now, as nearly as it can be sized up today—always assuming, of course, that employment will stay high and that productivity will rise as it has been rising."

Now here is an economy which shudders and quakes at the threat of peace. Here is a prosperity married to the wastrel of defense spending. Here is a land in which the consumer pays 59 cents out of every dollar for the costs of distribution, for the privilege of being sold. Right now, as this book appears, the boom is tied to a nine-million automobile production rate, when there is grave question whether the American consumer can absorb more than five million new cars. In December, 1954, the total consumer debt reached the highest point in the nation's history, over $30 billion, of which over $10 billion was owed on automobiles—another "high." On top of that is a mortgage debt of over $75 billion, a peak figure.

Surely, if the editors of *Fortune* are applying the "most rigorous standards of original economic analysis," we should expect them to consider some of the economic forces which affect the size, stability, and rate of growth of the market. If consumer confidence in the future plays so decisive a role in spending, how will it behave when the bubble of inflated stock values bursts? What happens to steel, rubber, glass, fabrics, and a hundred other items when automobile production slows down, as it must, this summer? Will the projections hold? Is productivity a factor when production declines?

Learned professors and professional business optimists are reviewing this book and taking all its assumptions and its dishonest figures as gospel. Several reviews mention *Fortune's* claim that it spent $100,000 on this study, a thoroughly meretricious and meaningless figure, concocted on the same principle as a salesman's "swindle sheet."

But the plain fact is that the book is all pretense. It is simply a glorification of the market as Eisenhower and his paladins with their sales-manager mentality hope it will be. Perhaps the most significant statement is one sentence in the blurb on the book jacket. "There is no economic and social phenomenon in the world more portentous than today's American market." Implicit here is the concept that our economy can continue to be a consumers' paradise no matter what effects poverty, wars, and revolutions may produce in other lands.

This is a profoundly immoral book. It is a prize example of the corruption which permeates every sector of American life. Because Americans look upon figures as facts, and upon economics as a responsible discipline, this is a perversion of science to make a case for perpetual prosperity. It ignores the threat of wars, the enormous armaments spending which supports our rate of consumption, the planlessness of our production, the Damocles sword of depression overhanging our society, the role of world markets in our economy. It perpetuates, therefore, isolationism and chauvinism. It sponsors the self-seeking, sybaritic ideal of American consumption as the chief purpose of life.

IN World War II Americans lived better than they had ever lived before, while millions elsewhere suffered and died, and organized bestiality came close to victory. We fought that war by proxy, vicariously and pleasantly except for the small proportion of our population who actually saw battle. Abroad we promised the Atlantic Charter. But for our own people we held out the glories to come of nylon stockings, streamlined automobiles, more homes, more gadgets. This is the morality of the *Fortune* editors today.

Here is a book in which no provision is made for loafing and inviting the soul. The leisure market is a $30 billion affair, say the authors. That constitutes an admonition, a directive. Leisure has evidently been granted to Americans in order that they may work harder at buying, using, wasting, destroying mountains of goods and billions of man-hours in services. Political action and independent inquiry steal time from consumption. If our highest duty is to consume, and mass production requires uniformity of goods and services, obviously to conform becomes a patriotic virtue. Do you wonder why democracy in the United States is so very sick? The disease from which it is suffering is galloping consumption.

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PROBING THE ADMEN

Is There a Monopoly? . . *by Joseph J. Seldin*

AN anti-trust suit against five newspaper and magazine publishers' associations and the American Association of Advertising Agencies was recently filed by the Justice Department. The suit charged that all six trade associations, which include most of the large daily newspapers, magazines, and advertising agencies in the country, maintained a "veritable private government known as the recognition system." This system fixed 15 per cent of the advertising gross as the standard commission rate for advertising agencies. Agencies seeking recognition by the associations were obliged to state in writing that they were not controlled by or affiliated with advertisers, that the entire 15 per cent commission was retained by the agencies, that no part of it was discounted to advertisers. Agencies were also forbidden to compete with each other for new business by submitting speculative advertising plans.

This system injured two classes of business men, according to the Justice Department. First, it stifled competition among advertising agencies by threatening loss of recognition to any agency cutting commission rates or making speculative presentations to advertisers. Such loss meant that an agency would not qualify for the 15 per cent commission, had no credit, and carried an aura of "financial instability and business incompetence" among national advertisers and publications. Second, it prevented advertisers from cutting sales costs by placing ads directly with newspapers and magazines. The prices charged by publications for ads were the same, whether placed by an agency or direct by the advertiser. Because no price advantage was gained by placing the ads directly the advertiser felt compelled to use agency services since he paid for them anyway.

In short, by setting the competitive terms among the agencies and by blocking financial advantage for the advertiser in direct dealing with publications, the recognition system tended to aid the mammoth agencies billing millions of dollars yearly to increase their billings. In the past ten years, during which total advertising volume spiraled upward from $2,725,000,000 to $8,145,000,000, the number of agencies billing over $10,000,000 yearly more than doubled, and their total yearly billing more than tripled. By 1954 sixty agencies had a gross of more than $10,000,000. These titans represented less than 2 per cent of the 3,500 agencies in the country, but 27 per cent of the total advertising volume. Figured at 15 per cent, their commissions in 1954 exceeded $325,000,000; the commissions for all agencies were about $1,220,000,000.

IN DEFENSE of their recognition system, association spokesmen referred to their organizations as guinea pigs in the Justice Department's effort to "amend the Sherman Act through judicial decision rather than through legislative enactment." They recalled the 1923 Federal Trade Commission investigation of the advertising business. At that time the F. T. C. charged the trade associations with unfair competition and conspiracy in restraint of trade. But after seven years and 3,000 pages of testimony the F. T. C. dismissed its own case on the ground that it lacked jurisdiction. The dismissal turned on the definition of interstate commerce. Apparently F. T. C. viewed marketing of advertising as a service rather than a commodity sale, and as such was not to be considered interstate commerce in the light of court decisions then current.

But though Congress has not legislatively broadened this concept of interstate commerce since 1930, numerous Supreme Court decisions have. In 1944 the Supreme Court reversed its seventy-five-year stand that the service involved in issuing an insurance policy was not subject to federal control. The court brought the insurance business under interstate commerce, declaring "no commercial enterprise which conducts its activities across state lines has been held to be wholly beyond the regulatory power of Congress. We cannot make an exception of the insurance business."

AGAIN, in 1950 the Supreme court ruled that a commission-fixing agreement by the Washington Real Estate Board violated the Sherman act. In his opinion for the court Justice Douglas noted the "misconception" that bracketed together the services of real-estate brokers and those of labor unions. Congress intended only the latter to be exempt from the anti-trust laws.

In the 1951 Lorain (Ohio) *Journal* case the Supreme Court held specifically that national advertising was interstate commerce. One result was that the Lorain *Journal* was enjoined from denying its pages to advertisers who bought time from a competing radio station. Another result was to dispel any remaining doubt that the services of advertising were under federal control.

If the Justice Department is successful in breaking up the recognition system, who stands to gain? Probably not the smaller advertisers. For they do not spend enough on advertising to make it economically worth their while to prepare and place their own ads. Even saving the 15 per cent commission would not cover the costs involved. But the 100 largest advertisers, setting up their own advertising departments to handle their advertising and to deal directly with media, may achieve savings in the millions. Not only would they pocket the 15 per cent commission, but because they wield multi-million-dollar advertising budgets they would be able to pressure media for a larger commission percentage. Since media de-

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pend for their lives on advertising dollars, the largest advertisers would be in position to strike some hard bargains.

Twenty years ago the large advertisers tried to break up the recognition system and the 15 per cent commission. They complained through the Association of National Advertisers of "dissatisfaction" with a system that prevented advertisers from dealing directly with media and that took 15 cents from every advertising dollar for agency commission. The A. N. A. condemned this as arbitrary and wasteful, and was backed by Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., then president of General Motors, who labeled the system "unsound, uneconomic, and unfair." Prophetically, the A. N. A. warned agencies that "under a method of compensation that does not allow the advertiser to use it efficiently or satisfactorily, then little by little it is inevitable that advertisers assume the functions that the agency is prepared to perform, and the agencies will gradually lose more and more ground." Aided by the Justice Department, national advertisers may finally win the battle of the 15 per cent that they lost twenty years ago.

HELL'S CANYON

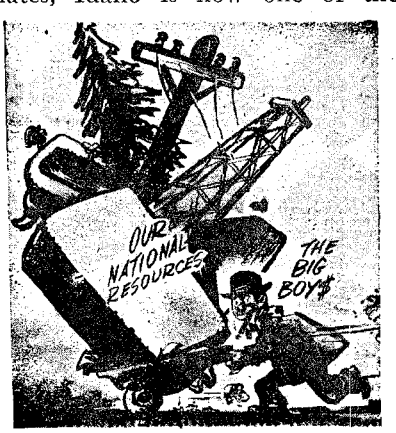
Where Are the Democrats? . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington

ALTHOUGH their own Roosevelt Administration pioneered it, the latter-day Democrats have no comprehension of the power potential of the Columbia River Basin. Otherwise, they would not have let their Hell's Canyon project gather dust for five years. This is a project that would develop the finest but most remote dam site in the United States (it's in a mile-deep gorge of the Snake River which marks the Idaho-Oregon border). It would add 1,120,000 kilowatts of cheap power to the already power-short Columbia River system. Meanwhile, the Republicans have been sponsoring the absentee-owned Idaho Power Company, whose application for a more modest (212,000 to 505,000 kilowatt) power dam in the same area is now pending before the Federal Power Commission. Already, the commission examiner, William J. Costello, has given the nod to the private dam, not because he thought it was better its power would be almost thrice as costly—but because the likelihood of Democratic action on the public dam was "too remote." Democrats may resent the examiner's prognosis but unless they prove it false by passing the current Hell's Canyon bill either in the Senate or in the House, the Republican-dominated F. P. C. may never give them another chance.

EDGAR KEMLER writes frequently for The Nation *on the Washington scene.*

For power-rich Easterners, the importance of Hell's Canyon in the Pacific Northwest is very difficult to grasp. Thanks to Bonneville, Grand Coulee, and other installations, which tap only one-sixth of the region's potential, the downstream states of Washington and Oregon have prospered as never before, with a combined population increase of 1,000,000 and the advent of a $400,000,000 aluminum industry within the last decade. But the more these states prosper, the more power they need, and at the present rate their power needs will double in the next decade. By contrast, in upstream Idaho, where the Idaho Power Company rules virtually without federal competition, population and industry are both stagnant. Potentially one of the richest of the eleven Western states, possessing 60 per cent of our fertilizer-producing phosphates, Idaho is now one of the poorest. Only barren New Mexico ranks lower. However, to convert its phosphate rock into fertilizer, 400,000 kilowatts of cheap (3-mill) power is required as compared with the expensive (6 1/2-mill) power provided by the company. Also cheap power is needed to irrigate the state's sagebrush desert, which now constitutes about half its acreage.



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

They never had it so good!

WHILE both downstream and upstream needs are built into the Hell's Canyon public-dam proposal, the Idaho Power Company's dam would merely "skim the cream." It would not merely be inadequate, but wasteful as well. Furthermore, by its record of hostility to the Rural Electrification Administration—in 1950 it wiped out the Malheur, Oregon, electric cooperative, after a ten-year battle—it should not be admitted to the federal power system. However, through a friendly press and friendly governors, the potent company has so far more or less concealed its shortcomings. Idaho farmers have been persuaded that the public dam would cut off their irrigation water for the benefit of Oregon, while Oregon farmers have been told that it would divert their power water to California. As to the first point, which is the only one even remotely plausible, the F. P. C. has now established that there is enough water for everybody, while further safeguards have been written into the Hell's Canyon bill. At any rate, the persistence of these myths helped

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reelect the Idaho Power Company's chief spokesman, Republican Senator Dworshak, last fall, as it helped to reduce the margin for Democratic Senator Richard Neuberger in Oregon.

After Neuberger's election, Wayne Morse, his one-time mentor, began his present campaign to pry the public-dam project out of its F. P. C. deathbed. When the bill, S. 1333, was introduced by Morse and his twenty-nine Democratic cosponsors, the Interior Department refused to comment on it, because, they said, the Hell's Canyon problem was already being considered by the quasi-judicial commission. By implication, Morse himself was accused of a gross impropriety, nor has he altogether refuted it. However, when Morse's colleagues—including Murray of Montana, Anderson of New Mexico, Jackson of Washington—held subcommittee hearings at the grass roots, so much heat was generated both pro and con that Secretary of Interior McKay was forced to abandon his phony neutrality for all-out hostility. Foreshadowing the latest Hoover Commission report, which urges the immediate stoppage of all further public power, McKay said that the government had already become committed to $1,500,000,000 worth of new dams in the Columbia River basin, and that the additional $500,000,000 required for Hell's Canyon would be excessive. Also, he went on, the Idaho Power Company could do a "reasonably comparable" job using private rather than public capital.

IF THE battle moves onto the Senate floor, the final attack on the shaky Republican position will depend more on Acting Majority Leader Clements than on the rebel Morse, who set it up for him. Morse's friends now claim forty-four votes for the public dam, including those of three Republicans—Langer and Young of North Dakota and Thye of Minnesota. The decisive five votes, if they come at all, must come from tidelands-oil Democrats, like Long of Louisiana, who is currently blocking the bill in committee. To break the deadlock, Senator Clements must make Hell's Canyon a party issue, which he has so far failed to do. Yet it is hard to imagine an issue more worthy of such a tactic. The Eisenhower Administration has borrowed or stolen so many issues from the Democrat's New Deal heritage that this seems to be the only one left.

THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

A Significant Victory . . *by Leonard B. Boudin*

THE State Department's Passport Office was well described in 1949 by the Hoover Commission as "a law unto itself." Since 1947 its director, Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, recently retired, consistently denied American citizens the right to travel because of political views and associations imputed to them. This was without hearing, evidence, specific reasons, or appeal. Now, in the single month of June, 1955, the subversion of a decade has been undone, and the operation of the department has become subject to the rule of law. This is the meaning of the recent court decisions in the Nathan, Foreman, and Schachtman cases, which declared that travel is a constitutional right and that American citizens are entitled to a quasi-judicial hearing before a passport can be denied them.

In order to appreciate the battle that has been won, we must turn back the pages of history. During most of our life as a nation, Americans could travel without hindrance. As the State Department said in 1925: "In time of peace a law-abiding American citizen has always been free to leave the country without the permission of the government." The purpose of the passport was not to license travel or to guarantee protection but to identify the traveler as an American entitled to his rights as a citizen.

However, the large number of federal, state, and municipal authorities who engaged in the issuance of passports led to gross abuses. The result was an 1856 law "that the Secretary of State shall be authorized to grant and issue passports . . . and no other person shall grant, issue or verify any such passport."

Congress originally imposed only one condition upon the right to a passport, that it be issued to a citizen or one otherwise subject to U. S. jurisdiction. Hence, passports were invariably given to citizens as a matter of right. Today, however, an American citizen cannot leave the hemisphere without a passport for two reasons: (1) it is a criminal offense to do so while the Presidential proclamation of emergency is in effect; (2) many countries will not permit a foreigner to enter without a passport.

From 1789 to 1947, there were no departmental restrictions upon the right to peacetime travel. However, beginning with the cold war, the Passport Office began to deny passports for political reasons. While the department has refused to disclose the number of persons involved, it was certainly in the hundreds. In each of these cases, Mrs. Shipley merely announced that the issuance of a passport would not be in the best interests of the United States. A denial on that basis was without any authority in law, since there existed no statute, executive order, or even regulation authorizing the department to control travel upon political or other grounds.

During this period two lawsuits were instituted against the department. The first, *Robeson* v. *Acheson*, was dismissed by the District Court

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which held that the department's actions were not judicially reviewable. The Court of Appeals dismissed the appeal as moot because the plaintiff's passport had expired by the time of oral argument.

The second case, *Bauer* v. *Acheson,* involved the passport revocation of an American journalist residing in Paris. A three-judge statutory court in a case sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union agreed with the plaintiff's contention that her passport had been denied without a hearing. It stated, too, in a dictum that there was a constitutional right to travel, that the Secretary of State had certain discretion, but that it could not be exercised arbitrarily. Despite this decision, Miss Bauer received neither hearing nor passport because of the department's delaying tactics and in the end she married a French national and gave up her American citizenship and the lawsuit as well.

The court's remarks on the right to travel and the area of discretion gave the department only two logical alternatives: (1) to establish reasonable standards and fair procedures; (2) to appeal to the Supreme Court. Choosing neither course, it gave the appearance of compliance while continuing its old practices of seizing and denying passports without hearing or valid reason. And in August, 1952, it issued new regulations denying passports to persons in three categories:

> (a) Persons who are members of the Communist Party or who have recently terminated such membership under such circumstance as to warrant the conclusion —not otherwise rebutted by the evidence—that they continue to act in furtherance of the interests and under the discipline of the Communist Party;
>
> (b) Persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, who engage in activities which support the Communist movement under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion—not otherwise rebutted by the evidence—that they have engaged in such activities as a result of direction, domination, or control exercised over them by the Communist movement.
>
> (c) Persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, as to whom there is reason to believe, on the balance of all the evidence, that they are going abroad to engage in activities which will advance the Communist movement for the purpose, knowingly and willfully, of advancing that movement.

The only laws affecting the issuance of passports are the Act of 1856, as amended, which restricts passports to American citizens, and the Internal Security Act of 1950, which provides that persons who are members of organizations required by a final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board to register may not use passports. As yet, no such final order is in effect since the constitutionality of the statute is now before the Supreme Court, which granted certiorari on April 6.

The Secretary's regulations of August, 1952, clearly go far beyond these statutes. Indeed, the department has admitted that its regulations were intended "to enforce the *spirit* of the [Internal Security] Act."

THE department seems to consider informing upon others the only sure proof of termination of Communist Party membership. It interprets the term "recently" in most unusual fashion; even persons who swear that they had not been members of the Communist Party for a decade are denied passports. It has denied passports because "allegations" of membership have been rebutted only by an affidavit under oath.

The standard "to engage in activities which support the Communist movement" was called too "vague" in the Lattimore decision. The department relies here upon membership in organizations on the Attorney General's list. This, despite the fact that the list was promulgated without notice, hearing, or charges, was criticized by the Supreme Court in the joint anti-Fascist case, and has been judicially ruled inadmissible.

The procedures are equally improper. There are no hearings or witnesses, nor is other evidence taken in the Passport Office. This is true equally of the Board of Passport Appeals which purports to review the decisions of the Passport Office. An appeal is not permitted one who refuses to execute a non-Communist affidavit upon the request of the Passport Office; this condition is without precedent in American law. The affidavit must cover past membership, although the Internal Security Act of 1950 refers only to the present. Finally, the execution of the affidavit hardly ever does any good; rarely does an affiant get a passport.

There are many other things peculiar about the Board of Passport Appeals. The proceedings are transcribed but the applicant for a passport can read only his own testimony, which is hardly of help. The Board of Passport Appeals makes a report to the Secretary of State, but the applicant is never permitted to see it. The Secretary of State makes a decision without hearing the applicant and the decision is silent as to its factual basis.

In view of the department's studied policy of delay, it is small wonder that in June, 1953, ten months after the regulations were issued, Mr. Shipley wrote me that "there has been no urgency for the promulgation of the [board's] rules, since in no case has an applicant for a passport who has completed the administrative procedures which must be carried out in the Passport Office informed the department of his desire to appeal his case."

These regulations were made the subject of attack in the principal cases sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee: *Nathan* vs. *Dulles* and *Foreman* vs. *Dulles.*

Dr. Otto Nathan, the well-known economist and sole executor of Professor Einstein's estate, had been seeking a passport since December, 1952. His complaint was predicated upon one fundamental principle—the absolute right to travel. After trial, United States District Judge Henry Schweinhaut overruled the government's contention that the courts were without jurisdiction to interfere with departmental decisions and directed the department to grant Dr. Nathan a hearing. The court rejected the department's claim that Dr. Nathan had had a hearing, and that he should have appealed to the Board of Passport Appeals. The court said the "plaintiff did not have a hearing which the law contemplates and guarantees." And with respect to Dr. Nathan's alleged administrative remedies, "as a matter of practical fact, he had none."

Instead of giving Dr. Nathan a hearing, the department asked him which of the two hearings, held inadequate by Judge Schweinhaut, he

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Traveling Papers

preferred. He replied with contempt proceedings; and Judge Schweinhaut, describing the department's conduct as evasive and "dilly-dallying," directed the issuance of a passport.

The Court of Appeals stayed the judgment, but upon condition that the department give Dr. Nathan a quasi-judicial hearing, confronting him with the witnesses against him. The court put the department upon a strict time schedule. But instead of conducting the hearings in the manner prescribed, the State Department announced that it had held a hearing (in the absence of Dr. Nathan), acquitted him of the charges, and given him a passport. This, four days after the department had argued "national security" as a reason for not giving him one!

The Nathan case gave the courts their first insight into the department's passport behavior. It was the subject of international discussion because Dr. Nathan, in his capacity as Einstein's executor, had to leave for Berne, Switzerland, and because it was the first decision directing the issuance of a passport.

The Nathan case was followed on June 23, 1955, by the same court's decision in *Schachtman* v. *Dulles*. Max Schachtman, head of the Independent Socialist League, took the position of the American Civil Liberties Union, and argued that the Secretary of State did have discretion to deny passports, but said that the Secretary had abused it by accepting as conclusive the Attorney General's listing of the league as "subversive." In this case the Court of Appeals gave the plaintiff more than he had sought. It not only held that the Attorney General's list was not conclusive; it held that the right to travel "is a natural right" and Chief Judge Edgerton, concurring, said that "freedom to leave a country or a hemisphere is as much a part of liberty as freedom to leave a state."

The third blow came within a few days. On June 28, District Judge Burnita S. Matthews directed that the department give a quasi-judicial hearing to Dr. Clark Foreman, executive director of the E. C. L. C. Dr. Foreman also had been denied a passport on the ground that it was alleged that he had been a Communist, his affidavit to the contrary notwithstanding, and that he had followed the "shifts and changes" of the Communist Party line. The department now had its second opportunity to sustain charges which it had made against an American citizen. Instead, it telegraphed Dr. Foreman's attorney that "the department has just completed review of case and has concluded that passport application of Foreman should be approved."

The department's policy began to look more peculiar. Was the department going to give a passport each time a court ordered a hearing? Apparently, it was prepared to retreat even further. For eight years Dr. Martin Kamen had been prevented from traveling abroad to take posts in various universities and participate in international conferences. Now, with a motion for summary judgment pending in court, even before a hearing was directed, Dr. Kamen and another passport litigant, Willard Park, were given their passports. The department, in clear violation of its own regulations, also gave a short-term passport to Joseph Clark, a *Daily Worker* correspondent. Clark had not even gone to court. His employer had appealed to the publishers' association on the right of a journalist to attend the Geneva conference.

The department has not yet released the scores of citizens enmeshed in its administrative machinery. Although its standards and procedures as embodied in the regulations have been struck down by the courts, no substitute regulations have been announced. The department still demands non-Communist affidavits. On the other hand, it has given former Judge William Clark a hearing directed by the federal court, and it gave Joseph Clark a passport without a hearing.

The outcome for the rest of the American people depends upon their will to resist petty tyranny. There are hundreds of citizens here or stranded throughout the world whose passports have been seized, revoked, or withheld. If they resist the department's illegal interference with their right to travel for pleasure, education, or a livelihood, they may take hope from these recent decisions. We may then return to the only satisfactory situation where travel is a right and the issuance of a passport a routine administrative act cheerfully performed for the benefit of every citizen by his employees in the Passport Office.

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BOOKS

U.N.: The First Decade

THE UNITED NATIONS AND HOW IT WORKS. By David Cushman Coyle. The New American Library. 35 cents.

UN: THE FIRST TEN YEARS. By Clark M. Eichelberger. Harper and Brothers. $1.75.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. By Leland M. Goodrich and Anne P. Simons. The Brookings Institution. $6.

By Frederick L. Schuman

"THE WORLD," wrote Machiavelli, "is a stupendous machine, composed of innumerable parts, each of which, being a free agent, has a volition and action of its own; and on this ground arises the difficulty of assuring success in any enterprise depending on the volition of numerous agents. We may set the machine in motion, and dispose every wheel to one certain end; but when it depends on the volition of any one wheel, and the correspondent action of every wheel, the result is uncertain."

If the San Francisco Charter of 1945 had established anything remotely resembling "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World"—representative of peoples and not of governments, capable of decision-making by majority vote of legislators, and having power to enact law enforceable on individuals—no such characterization of its activities would be warranted. But since the U. N. is no more and no less than an association of sovereignties, the 400-year-old comment of the Florentine is appropriate.

As an agency to keep the peace the U. N., like the League of Nations, is merely a vehicle of cooperation among states, with one significant difference. The Charter, unlike the Covenant, recognizes realistically that the classical theory of "collective security," i. e., the coercion of states by states, is a formula not for peace but for world war unless the Great Powers are unanimously in concert and disposed to cooperate for common purposes. For most of a decade Moscow has sought to convert the U. N. into an arena of anti-American propaganda while Washington has sought to transform it into an anti-Communist coalition. Both efforts, happily, failed. The U. N. has not only survived the cold war but has played an indispensable role in steering the struggle toward detente instead of disaster, thanks to the statesmanship of Trygve Lie and Dag Hammarskjold, the mediation of neutrals, and the belated conversion to wisdom of Soviet and American policy-makers.

ASIDE from festivities and oratory at the Golden Gate, the tenth anniversary has given rise to a spate of books and monographs by way of record and evaluation. Of these the most valuable is the detailed study (the first of seven volumes on the U. N. projected by the Brookings Institution and initiated by the late Leo Pasvolsky) by Professor Goodrich of Columbia and Anne Simons, formerly of the U. N. Secretariat. While less formidable in its legalism than the monumental work of Hans Kelsen, this is nonetheless the most erudite and fully documented analysis thus far published of U. N. procedures for pacific settlement.

The orientation is orthodox and "official," and therefore "safe," noncontroversial, and dull. Yet it is heartening that Dr. Goodrich, who only a few years ago regarded any criticism of American foreign policy and of collective security as "subversive," has now taken cognizance of some, at least, of the facts of life. While still innocent of any understanding of the relationship between the U. N. and power politics, he now perceives that private diplomacy has its uses, that the Assembly's role is "limited" in mobilizing armed forces, that disarmament presupposes "improved relations among the major powers," and, by implication, that the U. N. can be politically effective only if a Concert of Powers is restored. For all of this, and for the rich factual data here supplied, thanks are due. And if the Lord loves a repentant sinner more than a virtuous man, scholars and laymen should be no less appreciative of learned specialists who, long lost in a fog, begin to see the light.

Genial Clark Eichelberger—successively a leader of the League of Nations Association, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, a drafter of the Charter, and Executive Director of the American Association for the United Nations—has set himself a more modest task, executed in 100 pages rather than 700, with a foreword by James T. Shotwell. He surveys succinctly the sundry functions of the U. N., sometimes fuzzily and frequently in cliches but always earnestly, ever hopefully, and often helpfully. His book makes up in good will what it lacks in analytical acumen and literary brilliance. This quality is so rare and so essential in our time that all readers will profit from exposure to it and will feel grateful to Clark Eichelberger for having kept his faith.

THE LEAST and cheapest of these books is, in many ways, the wisest and best. David Cushman Coyle (introduction by Ahmed S. Bokhari, Undersecretary of the U. N. Department of Public Information) has packed into fewer pages more interesting and relevant factual data on the U. N. than anyone else has achieved to date. Yet this is no prosaic handbook. Coyle is concerned on almost every page with the ways in which U. N. activities, however ignored or ill-supported, contribute to the alleviation of disease, poverty, anxiety, and other forms of misery among human beings. He presents the record in human terms. The result is inspiring. A world not yet ready for "federalism" is still capable of endorsing "functionalism" in the service of welfare. The accomplishments and the potentialities of the U. N. in these obscure vineyards are, alone, a full vindication of the work of the founders. And they offer hope that the brotherhood of man need not remain forever an empty dream.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN holds the Woodrow Wilson Professorship of Government at Williams College and is the author of "The Commonwealth of Man" and other books.

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Juvenile Delinquency

1,000,000 *DELINQUENTS.* By Benjamin Fine. World Publishing Company. $4.

DELINQUENT BOYS: The Culture of the Gang. By Albert K. Cohen. The Free Press. $3.50.

TRUANTS FROM LIFE. By Bruno Bettelheim. The Free Press. $6.

By Milton L. Barron

AMIDST the hysteria and confusion that mount daily in reaction to delinquency offenses, it is gratifying to find three new publications which help us understand the problem and point hopefully to its reduction and ultimate solution. The authors have backgrounds in journalism, sociology, and psychoanalysis and educational psychology respectively. Their approaches, accordingly, vary considerably.

Mr. Fine, education editor of the New York *Times,* is the most eclectic of all. Pointing to the increasing volume of juvenile delinquency in terms of a serious national epidemic that may involve 2,250,000 children annually by 1960, he poses and then attempts to answer several questions. Why do they do it? Where shall we place the "blame"? How shall we find the solutions? And, finally, how shall we put them into effect? To Mr. Fine a juvenile delinquent is not merely a thief, a murderer, or a vandal. He is "a troubled human being who steals or destroys as a result of pressures both within and without."

For much of his information the author relies heavily on the research findings of the Gluecks of Harvard, generally reputed to be the most eminent authorities on the problem. But Mr. Fine himself also collected much data in preparation for his book. He personally interviewed 1,500 delinquents in such institutions as the New Jersey State Home for Boys in Jamesburg and the New York State Training School for Girls in Hudson. Many of the delinquents wrote out their stories, verbatim excerpts of which dramatically illustrate the points the author makes. Like other students of delinquency, Mr. Fine is convinced that in the final analysis the problem is a symptom of the more general sickness of societal and world tensions. The solution depends upon intelligent, coordinated social action directed toward meaningful moral standards. In this endeavor the elementary schools will play a crucial, preventive role together with the home, church, community, police department, psychiatric clinic, juvenile court, foster home and detention place, and the training school.

Dr. Cohen, professor of sociology at Indiana University, makes a contribution of a quite different order. He proposes a theory of delinquency that appears to fill a serious gap in systematic thought devoted to the problem. There is a delinquent subculture in American society, Dr. Cohen maintains, and it is most evident in the boys' gangs flourishing in working-class neighborhoods of our metropolitan communities. This subculture is non-utilitarian, malicious, and negativistic in nature. It is a way of coping with the problems of adjustment and growing-up faced by children in the lower social strata. These are essentially status problems, for lower-class children are denied status in "respectable," middle-class society. The delinquent subculture provides criteria of status which these children can meet.

THE MOST stimulating and rewarding reading on the problem of delinquency is available in Bettelheim's book. Dr. Bettelheim is head of the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School at the University of Chicago and professor of educational psychology in the university's departments of education and psychology. Selecting four representative cases of disturbed children who have been treated by the school he directs, he shows how their rehabilitation slowly but surely proceeded and how the children adjusted after they left the institution. In view of the surprising lack of clinical case material on delinquents and other children who suffer from acute emotional disturbances, Dr. Bettelheim's

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at last—

the whole story is told

The Empire of Oil

by

Harvey O'Connor

The New York Herald Tribune wrote the truth when it said on January 9, 1948, "Thanks to the mixture of unsupported argument, official reticence, and sheer hypocrisy which befog the subject, there can be few peoples so poorly informed of the global implications of oil production and distribution as the Americans."

Now, at long last, Americans can learn all they need to know about oil—the biggest industry in the United States. In **"The Empire of Oil,"** Harvey O'Connor has, **for the first time,** packed between two covers a comprehensive, thoroughly documented, absorbingly readable account of every aspect of the oil industry, both domestic and foreign.

Mr. O'Connor devoted five years of full-time research and writing to this book. **"The Empire of Oil"** will be published in November; it is a long book—almost 400 pages—and it will sell for $5 per copy.

Until publication date—**but not after**—we are offering the book at the special pre-publication price of $3.50. Combined with a one-year subscription to the independent socialist magazine **Monthly Review,** the saving is even greater —$6 for both the book and the sub (a saving of $2).

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account is especially notable. Although the four cases he describes differ markedly, they all show schizophrenic traits.

The philosophy and goal of his staff in working with disturbed children are admirably summarized by the author as follows: "Our aim must be to strengthen the child to such a degree that he is able, by himself, to master adverse circumstances with relative success. Technically speaking, we must realize that the 'substructure' of the child's personality will always remain weak. The foundation for his personality development was laid in infancy and early childhood. We may be able to strengthen it here and there, to buttress it, so to speak, but we cannot give the child a new substructure. On this basically weak and only partly 'remodeled' foundation, we must try to help the child develop sufficient ego strength and personality integration to enable his limited inner resources to carry him along, even if external conditions fail him." Clear in style and fascinating in detail and development, this book truly reads as fluently as a good novel.

Practitioners and administrators as well as laymen would be wise to pause in their hysterical wringing of hands and explosive epithets against "hoodlums" and "young punks" to examine carefully all three books.

Over the Edge of Bathos

SELECTED POEMS. By Randall Jarrell. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

By John Ciardi

THIS first round-up of Jarrell's poetry leaves me thinking that the reader is pretty much left free to take Jarrell anyway he likes. The reader who wants to argue that this is bad poetry can certainly call upon the poems to provide him with evidence. The reader who wants to argue that this is what poetry in our times should be can certainly make his case from the poems. To be sure a man's work should be judged by its best. Judged by his worst, no poet would survive criticism. In Jarrell's case, however, the best is so closely involved in the worst that I find it difficult to separate the two.

Clearly there is no questioning of the poetic apparatus in Jarrell's poetry: he has long since passed the point of technical competence, and the forms of poetry are clearly ready to perform whatever Jarrell requires of them humanly and imaginatively. But given the fact that a poet has mastered his forms, and given the presence of a seeing imagination, there still remains inseparable from all reception of poetry one's response to what Robert Frost called "the way the poet takes himself, and the way the poet takes his subject." "Art without mind," said Kant, "is horrid." For "mind" read perhaps "personality," perhaps "character." Whatever it may indicate of my limitations as a reader, I find myself rather regularly at odds with the character of the "speaking voice" of Jarrell's poems. I say "speaking voice" because the imagined voice in which the poem is spoken is not the same thing as the poet, but is, rather, something the poet-as-man must invent into the poem. Jarrell is a man of successes and undoubtedly a citizen-human to be admired. I am concerned here with that projection—Yeats would have said "the mask"—through which the poems are spoken.

The central quality of that speaking, or at least the most persistent point of objection, surprising though it may seem, is a kind of sentimentality that seems to tremble forever on the edge of bathos and to fall over the edge much too often for my taste. I cannot get around the impression that Jarrell-in-trance speaks in a voice so tear-choked that his own best self-perception is dulled. I find several sorts of self-indulgence in these poems, and I am tempted to relate all of them to this core of sentimentality. The basic self-indulgences as I would list them are: Jarrel's tendency to let poems, especially the later poems, run on and on and on, a fondness for the bathetic image, and an insistence on using the same tricks over and over and over.

There is not room to document Jarrell's discursiveness. It can lead him to as sad a mishmash as the poem called Money, certainly as over-boiled a ladling of bad Brownian stew as any competent poet of the last years has allowed himself to publish. Or it can lead to as good a poem as The Marchen, which somehow stays alive through all its long-windedness. And therefore, no matter: the failure that leads to merit is a good failure.

Jarrell's weakness for the bathetic image, however, is something else. Here is a child's sense of time gone, what I take to be Jarrell's version of "We'll to the woods no more":

> I shall never again sing
> Good morning, Dear Teacher, to my own dear teacher.
> Never again
> Will Augusta be the capital of Maine.
> The dew has rusted the catch of the strap on my satchel.

I find myself appalled by that last line, and only incidentally because I cannot believe any child would think it this way; more to the point, I read it as a sentimental effort to load large human significance into a commonplace which explodes the sentiment to a burlesque of itself. Ah, the lost years in which the catch of my satchel strap rusted! So, later in the same poem:

> The broody hen
> Squawks upside down—her eggs are boiled.

Why not:

> The chick-hopes of my broody hen
> Were all hard (or soft) boiled by then.
> Alas, for time in transit. (oh).

So for the opening lines of the first poem, in which Professor Jarrell looks at A Girl in a Library:

> An object among dreams, you sit with your shoes off
> And curl your legs up under you; your eyes
> Close for a moment, your face moves toward sleep. . . .
> You are very human.

I confess I have always disliked the tone of the address in which the writer carefully tells his subject who she is and what she is doing—and that she has her shoes off. But I must certainly record something more than an accustomed distaste for that dot dot dot followed by "You are

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very human." Perhaps I am wrong, but I cannot help reading this as simple bathos.

Jarrell's willingness to repeat a device is inescapable. Let a good word into a poem once and it will be let into the same poem again (*cf* the repetition of "steady" in the fine poem, The Sleeping Beauty, and the repetition of "entirely" in A Rhapsody on Irish Themes). And certainly no poet has ever depended so heavily on a single transitional device as Jarrell depends on the repetition of "And yet . . . and yet. . . ." Shapiro, I note, finds this device a point of high merit. I find it sticking in my eye as a kind of once-rich invention become simply a mannerism by overuse.

And yet . . . and yet . . . take the poem Nollekens, or the strange and quite exciting Seele im Raum, and certainly one is confronted by a poetry for admiration. Seele im Raum is a good specimen piece. To my reading the poem would fall into silliness without the lines:

> This is senseless?
> Shall I make sense or shall I tell the truth?
> Choose either—I cannot do both.

I am persuaded by these lines that Jarrell has not only explored a kind of perception he has staked out as his own, but that he has found its true center. In too many of the poems, however, the speaking voice quavers around the center without finding it.

Selected New Books

Economics

A GENERAL THEORY OF ECONOMIC PROCESS. By Neil W. Chamberlain. Harper. $5. An admirable attempt by a Columbia economist, formerly a specialist in labor and industrial relations, to synthesize and unify some disparate elements in economic theory, which requires him to go beyond economics and into history, sociology, and politics. The result is what might be called a first crack at a mid-twentieth-century political economy. This will be a provocative, perhaps a path-breaking book for the professionals, but it is probably too technical for all but the most determined laymen.

THE REVOLUTION IN WORLD TRADE. By Samuel Lubell. Harper. $2.50. The "revolution" of the title is apparent neither in the author's analysis nor in his policy recommendations, since the latter are basically conventional or in the nature of gimmicks—e. g., one of his "main measures" is "a two-to-three-year trade truce to insure a breathing spell for competitive relations to shake themselves down." I still don't know what that means; or, if I do, it sounds like nonsense. Like many men of stated good will in these times, Lubell accepts the apparatus and the attitudes of the cold war in such a fashion as to guarantee that it will never end; except by getting hotter.

APPROACHES TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By Norman S. Buchanan and Howard S. Ellis. Twentieth Century Fund. $5. A readable and broadly informative study of an outstanding current problem. The book is divided into a theoretical, a historical, and a policy section, all clearly written. Although not confined to it alone, the last section is particularly subject to question, taking as it does a rather too conventional (at times, almost nineteenth century), rather too American view of a problem requiring an unconventional and genuinely international approach. With it all, a timely and useful book, capable of being understood by all interested.

ECONOMICS AND LIBERALISM. By O. H. Taylor. Harvard. $5. The collected essays of a Harvard philosopher-economist who finds himself "stranded between the positions of the A. D. A. on (his) left and the central bulk of the Republican Party on (his) right." The essays deal with subjects as diverse as natural law, a comparison of Marx and Schumpeter, and the relations between a liberal education and liberal principles. The attitudes of the author, as expressed over a period of twenty years, range from whole-hearted rejection of the New Deal (in the thirties) to complete acceptance of it (in the late forties), to something in between (in the early fifties). An interesting, if not always highly enlightening, intellectual journey, written in crabbed style.

THE GREAT CRASH, 1929. By John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin. $3. The author writes easily and wittily—perhaps too easily—of a period whose major event he does not see as beyond repetition today. As an explanation of the crash, this book adds little or nothing and it may, in the importance it places on

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the crash, say too much. Good reading for those who know little or nothing of the period, and for those who have grown complacent about the present. This book, like Galbraith's preceding two, exhibits an unfortunate tendency of the author to sacrifice depth for literary style. The one need not be sacrificed for the other, and, since Galbraith is a talented and a humane economist, it is too bad that it has been.

DOUGLAS F. DOWD.

Belles-Lettres

THE SELECTED LETTERS OF ANTON CHEKHOV. Edited by Lillian Hellman. Translated by Sidonie Lederer. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $4. Chekhov was too serious about life to take anything in it seriously. He signed a letter describing the failure of his first play "Schiller Shakespearovich Goethe." His letters about his travels in Russia and Siberia, his talent and his neglect of it, the Dreyfus case, and even the terrible cholera epidemic in which he gave unselfish service are touched with the bitter irony of a mind that distrusts everything because it distrusts itself.

THE ART OF FICTION. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday. $4.50.

THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS. By Louis Kronenberger. Knopf. $3.75. These collections of essays represent two different approaches to the task of presenting familiar ideas about familiar books. Mr. Maugham conducts himself as the canny old broker of literature, giving all the facts clearly and interestingly. His critical evaluations are conservative, and they are offered grudgingly, as though they were tips based on secret information. Mr. Kronenberger, on the other hand, courts, and often achieves brilliance in discussing writers and their works from La Rochefoucauld to Thomas Wolfe. He interprets, compares, and analyzes vigorously in a pleasingly epigrammatic style, often going to the essence of a matter in a phrase, as when he calls "The Cherry Orchard" "acid dissolved in the most ravishing perfume."

EZRA POUND'S "MAUBERLEY." By John J. Espey. California. $2.75. An important modern poem is subjected to a drastic experiment in source-hunting, which shows it to be composed of an incredible diversity of quotations and allusions. Pound's poem emerges from Mr. Espey's meat-grinder as a masterpiece of Alexandrinism which, like the Cantos, calls upon the culture of the past to witness the sterility of its age.

DR. JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY. Essays in the Biography of a Book. By James H. Sledd and Gwin J. Kolb. Chicago. $5. The reader who likes Mencken's "American Language" will be fascinated by the whole story of the quaint old linguistic theories, pedantic controversies, and quirks of personality surrounding the publication of one of the great books of English literature.

SWIFT. An Introduction. By Ricardo Quintana. Oxford. $4.25. An authority on Swift gives a modern evaluation of his man's work by relating it to the intellectual climate of his time. Swift, believing that man was rational but easily corrupted, recommended realism, common sense, and the middle way, and gave perspective to the human situation in comedy. In these attitudes he was representative rather than original, but the passion and energy that controlled the complexity of his work were his own.

ADVENTURES IN THE SKIN TRADE AND OTHER STORIES. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. $3.50. Thomas's uncompleted novel about a naive young provincial's arrival in London is energetic fantasy with a rough realistic grain. Sinister Londoners make the hero's first experience of the city into a bad dream by landing him in the most absurd scrapes, but the perpetual victim's innocence remains uncorrupted by his grotesque adventures.

JACOB KORG.

Japan

AN INTRODUCTION TO JAPAN. By Herschel Webb, under the direction of Hugh Borton and Douglas W. Overton. Columbia. $2.75. Published under the auspices of the Japan Society, this useful little handbook is politically restrained. It avoids dealing with Japan's pregnant, current foreign relations, and recent fast-moving events have already outrun its brief treatment of domestic politics. But its concise descriptions of Japan's history, art and culture, and hard-pressed economy provide, in handy form, valuable background material for an understanding of contemporary Japan

PERSPECTIVE OF JAPAN. An Atlantic Monthly Supplement. Intercultural Publications. 35 cents. This is a product of a Ford Foundation project aiming at extending international understanding. The reader views Japan through the eyes of Japanese writers and artists: poetry and short stories are combined with essays on Japanese art, theater, architecture, and religions in a well-rounded portrayal of Japan's mind and spirit. The piece designed to locate "Japan's Place in Asia" was written by pro-American Shigeru Yoshida (who lost his premiership in December) and is thus dated, but the whole offers, in delightful literary form, an eminently admirable characterization of the Japanese nation.

DAUGHTERS OF CHANGING JAPAN. By Earl Herbert Cressey. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $4. In Japan, "women are changing faster than men." The author of "Daughters of Confucius" has taken ten life histories and re-woven them into an account depicting the lives of five modern young Japanese women in an environment in transformation. The text comprises a series of vignettes, with two of the characters playing the lead roles. Two—or ten—young women, however complex and versatile, cannot adequately represent Japanese femininity, however.

WITHOUT THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD. By Jean Stoetzel. UNESCO, Columbia. $4. An excellent scientific study of the attitudes of post-war Japanese youth, buttressed by tables and appendices. It is especially noteworthy that Japanese youth have a large percentage of economic anxiety in their makeup; their anxiety regarding rearmament and the threat of war is hardly less. If the nation is pacific at present, that pacificism has its limits: Japanese attitudes reflect a situation in laborious flux. At the end, the author establishes a basic position: "The precise direction in which the young will develop . . . is far from certain . . . for the young, many of the new ideals are still . . . floating in the air, carried by strange winds which already blow less strongly than they did, and liable to be scattered by other winds blowing from a different quarter."

NATIONALISM IN JAPAN. By Delmer M. Brown. California. $5. Professor Brown's study begins with the rise of Japanese national consciousness in its original Oriental setting, brings out the significance of shifts in sentiment in the face of foreign threats in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and traces the development of modern Japanese nationalism through five major wars into the post-World War II present. Lucid, stimulating, and edifying, this work is invaluable to all who seek the key to Japan's current reappraisal of its position in East Asia.

O. EDMUND CLUBB.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

ON A NUMBER of occasions during the years 1901 to 1903 Lionel Mapleson, librarian of the Metropolitan Opera Company, set up Edison recording equipment with which he recorded a couple of minutes of actual performances with such legendary greats as Nordica, Sembrich, Calve, Melba, and the de Reszkes. The cylinders—worn, damaged, noisy—came into the possession of William H. Seltsam of the International Record Collectors' Club, who has transferred a number of passages to an LP record, "Echoes of the Golden Age of Opera" (IRCC L-7006), with as much of the music and as little of the noise as human patience operating with present-day equipment could achieve; and I have further reduced the noise, without loss to the music, by turning the treble knob down to absolute minimum. From this you will understand how limited in range and volume the musical sound is, and how difficult to hear through the noise at times; nevertheless enough is heard to make the record, for me, enormously exciting. I have, that is, found it exciting to hear voices I had considered lost to my ears forever; to hear the remarkable performances of voices already known to me; and to hear moments of historic happenings of fifty years ago miraculously recapitulate themselves.

The voices I had expected never to hear were Nordica's and the de Reszkes'. Her voice is clear and sustained in bits of the love-duet of "Tristan" (with tempos from Hertz that would be denounced today), and superbly so in the final duet of "Siegfried." Edouard de Reszke is unimpressive except for a phrase or two in "Les Huguenots," in which it is Gadski who is exciting in several florid passages, the last of which rises to a high C that elicits a storm of applause; and in a few moments of "Lohengrin" one can hear—even through the noise of a boiler factory—how beautiful her voice is in sustained melody. Jean de Reszke, however, can be heard—through that boiler-factory noise—singing with freedom and power in the Forging Song of "Siegfried," and with superb fullness all the way to B flat and B natural in the sustained phrases of a duet in "L'Africaine," in which Breval's sustained singing, likewise to B flat and B, also is superb.

The voices I already knew from records were Sembrich's, Calve's, and Melba's. The few moments of "The Daughter of the Regiment" and the *Sempre libera* of "La Traviata" give only a pale image of Sembrich's voice, but a surprisingly vivid impression—even through the chugging of a locomotive—of the impressive freedom, authority, and style of her singing. From no Calve record do I recall anything like the superb singing in the Jewel Song of "Faust" that comes clearly through the noise of this one and is justly rewarded by tremendous applause. Of Melba I had heard not only the brilliant florid singing on her record of the Mad Scene from "Lucia," but the lovely small voice that soared out over everything else in the final trio of "Faust" in a Chicago Opera Company performance at the Lexington Opera House in 1917 or 1918; but nothing heard previously is as breathtaking as the 1901 singing on this record—the verve of the *Un di felice* in "La Traviata," the sustained singing with its succession of high B's in the "Faust" trio, and the florid singing in "Les Huguenots," sensational in its accuracy, its tossed-off ornamental high D's.

Sensational too in their own way are the performances of a legendary great of the Vienna Opera in its imperial days, Selma Kurz, whom I have heard for the first time on Scala 817. In sustained melody she has a lyric soprano with a lovely and touching timbre astonishingly like Hempel's, and a feeling for articulation and shaping of phrase also like Hempel's, but with enormous liberties with tempo that Hempel doesn't take. It is Kurz's florid singing that is sensational; and here she permits herself interpolations of cadenzas, or minute-long exhibitions of her spectacular trill, or an astronomically high concluding squeak (which Hempel does indulge in). But even with these regrettable practices it is wonderful singing. The record produces blasting that didn't prevent me from enjoying it.

Much the same kind of sensational florid singing—i.e., with the same liberties in tempo and spectacular interpolations and occasional concluding astronomical squeak—is done by Ivoguen on Scala 815 with a voice that changes from one acoustic recording to the next, but is exquisite in each. In addition a duet from "Don Pasquale" provides a hearing of the beautiful tenor voice of Karl Erb in his youth.

A singer whom I have heard for the first time on Scala 813 is Boninsegna, who is very fine, except in an early *O patria mia* from "Aida" with piano accompaniment. Raisa, whom I have heard for the first time on Scala 808, is so impressive in *L'altra notte* from "Mefistofele" that I am sure her other unimpressive performances on the record don't represent the singing with which she won her position and reputation. On the reverse side, for no reasons I can hear, are some performances by Giannina Russ.

The de Luca performances on Scala 812, with piano accompaniments, must have been recorded before he came to the Metropolitan, for they haven't the dark color and sumptuous texture of the matured voice I heard there and are musically crude—the one exception being a fine performance with Corradetti of a duet from "Don Pasquale." On the reverse side is some bawling by Ruffo. And on Scala 818 are performances by Zenatello that I find in every way undistinguished.

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Letters

Intelligence or Morality?

Dear Sirs: The Nation is to be congratulated on its splendid 90th anniversary issue. However, I think one article needs further consideration. I question the wisdom of Kathleen Lonsdale's dictum that "morality must rule," and I doubt that the moralistic approach will result uniformly in a program as intelligent as she presents. In my opinion, finite human intelligence, rather than morality, must rule if mankind is to avoid atomic war and possible extinction. Our ancient moralistic social controls, which failed to check significantly the lethal potential of such relatively feeble killers as gunpowder and TNT, can hardly be depended upon to curb the ultimate destructiveness of the megaton bomb.

There are many causes for the tensions which might precipitate an atomic war; economic maladjustments, barriers to international travel and communication, censorship and suppression of information, illiteracy, and so on. The problem demands hard, clear thinking and intelligent planning rather than moral platitudes.

HALLEN M. BELL
Birmingham, Mich.

Arid Zones

Dear Sirs: In Salvaging the Desert (The Nation, June 25), Peveril Meigs gives an over-optimistic picture of the arid zone. It matters not in the least how much rain may fall on abused land; this merely produces flash floods and wreckage. Rain must fall on land where it will sink in, not run off. The devastation of our own ranges here in the Southwest since the 1870's, with consequent washing away of soil from all mountainous or sloping areas, has started a cycle of disaster. Now the San Pedro Valley no longer gushes its former string of artesian wells; long-permanent rivers and springs have dried up; rows of ancient cottonwoods are dead; and locally, here and there, we see the menace of new sand dunes forming to march across the once-grassy plains, with the attendant sand- and dust-storms.

ALLAN R. PHILLIPS
Tucson, Ariz.

The Lamb Case

Dears Sirs: I have read Edgar Kemler's excellent article, Politics in the F. C. C. —The Lamb Case: Act II, in your July 2 issue. As a regular reader of The Nation I knew that the tangled details of the case would eventually be straightened out in its pages. As Mrs. Natvig's daughter I was pleased to see it done so well and so promptly.

Unfortunately, there is one point in the article which I feel needs correction. This is the statement that she has been " . . . disowned by her . . . three respectable children." My relations with my mother have always been close and loving. In recent years my husband's work has separated us by long distances but we corresponded regularly. She has been a frequent visitor at my brother's house, and has lived with my sister and her husband on and off for several months while the hearings and trial were in progress.

It would be difficult to find a person whom I respect more or to find a person who, despite almost impossible difficulties, could have been a better mother.

JACQUELINE H. STRAUS
Pullman, Washington

Spreading the Word

Dear Sirs: Summarizing the vital message of your anniversary forum on Atoms for Peace in your July 9 issue you said: "We hope that forums of this kind can be repeated many times by what Harold Taylor called 'dedicated groups' in every part of the world."

It may interest your readers to know that for the past five years the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament of the Women's International League has, in cooperation with several national organizations, put on conferences on this subject throughout the country.

The groups who have cooperated in sponsoring these forums are the American Association for the United Nations, the United Church Women, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church, the Y. W. C. A., and others.

The committee will be glad to assist any Nation reader who wishes to initiate an educational project on this theme in his community. The address: United Nations Plaza at 46th Street, N. Y. 17, N. Y.

AGNES M. MORLEY
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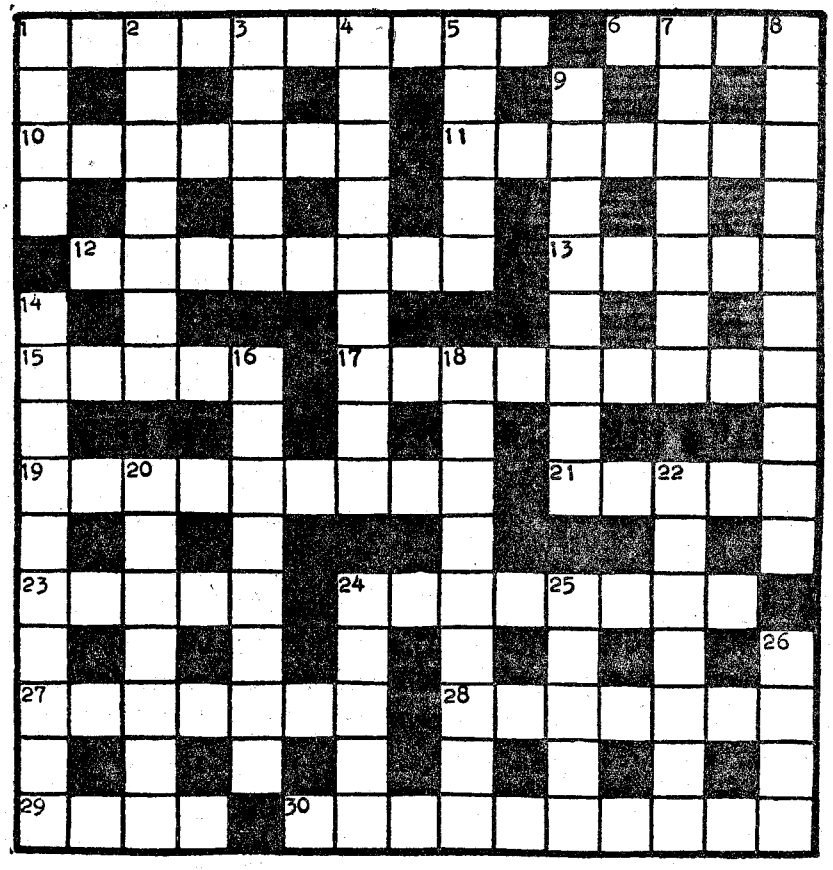
Crossword Puzzle No. 630

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 19, 8 down, 14 down Fruit peal, evidently. (7,3,6,3,3,5,2,2,8)
6 13 and 3 down Play with the core, playwright! (4,5,5)
10 Not a legal office. (Some like their drawings here.) (7)
11 Do, or do away with. (7)
12 Fats are found around any short ropes. (8)
13 See 6 across
15 See 24 down
17 Admission of the prejudiced, yet unbiased. (9)
19 See 1 across
21 This lizard is a little sticker. (5)
23 Owl and cat food, in part. (5)
24 Return to help with the local division in denunciation. (8)
27 A narrow strip of land to rent! (7)
28 The way you rent a meeting place for sports. (7)
29 With the end of 28, after 8, theirs was a question of time. (4)
30 After 8 down, answered "When I grow rich!" (10)

DOWN

1 The little brothers are confused by them! (4)
2 Holdings of the cage are frequently turned over and over. (7)
3 See 6 across
4 With 8 down, implied a debt of a little over a penny. (2,7)
5. A bad prime minister's requirements. (5)
7 If you do one, you disappear. (7)
8 See 1 across
9 Another game for the golfer Pa used to be! (4,4)
14 See 1 across
16 This is the way Hood said "Take her up!" (8)
18 Shell out to the boss! (9)
20 A creature with notoriously poor vision about to look up a seeing aid. (7)
22 One secretary or several secretaries. (7)
24 and 15 across A 25 of Hollands gin? (5,5)
25 One for all in 10. (5)
26 My thought has no obligation. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 629

ACROSS: 1 DERISION; 5 ACACIA; 9 DISTAFF; 10 TABORET; 11 CAUSTIC; 12 AURICLE; 13 DRESSING TABLE; 15 HALLOWEEN MASK; 21 SHIKARI; 22 TETRADS; 23 ELUDING; 24 BERBERA; 25 SEETHE; 26 DEPLOYED. DOWN: 1 DEDUCT; 2 RESOUND; 3 SEATTLE; 4 OFFICE SEEKING; 6 CARABET; 7 CORNCOB; 8 ANTLERED; 10 TRAINING TABLE; 14 CHASTENS; 16 LEISURE; 17 OBADIAH; 18 APTERAL; 19 KNAVERY; 20 ISLAND.

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